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of Mary as a period of transition from the Middle Age to the modern time". The third lecture describes the *mise en scène* of this activity: the extent and character of town-property; communal rights and how they were used; the functions of the church-yard and the cross, the tol-booth and the tron. Lecture IV. discusses the fundamental conditions which determined the form of municipal organization and burghal rights, describes the various sources of income, and exhibits with remarkable vividness the actual processes by which public utilities were converted into means of payment of town-obligations and the conditions thereby established under which home and foreign trade existed. Noteworthy is Professor Brown's publication *in extenso* of a document of 1614 which contains a "precise enumeration of all exports and imports with the respective values of each" and thus affords a complete view both of the industries and of the foreign trade of the country. The fifth lecture deals with a subject second in importance, as a feature of Mary's reign, to the religious revolution only—the rivalry between the merchants and the craftsmen. This controversy of a century's duration now reached an acute stage and involved the question of town-control at the very time when the towns were becoming the determining factor in national life. The chapter is one of remarkable lucidity and force, exhibiting the dynamics of the question in a manner unequalled.

The last lecture discusses the extent to which Scotland participated in those movements which resulted in the establishment of modern life in England and on the Continent. Nowhere was the religious breach more complete than in Scotland; economic change, however, was less rapid and radical than elsewhere—largely because Scotland had a smaller volume of trade and commerce, and was consequently less under the pressure of necessity. This was true of the transition from a municipal to a national basis in trade and commerce; of the destruction of the power of the gilds and liberation of industry; and of the poor laws. Yet to a limited extent Scotland shared the great European tendencies to social and economic change, and presents the spectacle of a nation awake to improved foreign methods, but of resources too limited for their complete adoption.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By ANDREW LANG. Vol. III. (London: Blackwood and Son; New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 424.)

In the course of his exposition of Scottish history Mr. Lang has reached the great crisis of the seventeenth century, and to this he devotes the whole of his third volume. The period, beginning with the accession of Charles I. and closing with the recognition of William and Mary, has a manifest unity, for it saw the trial and failure of two momentous experiments. On the one hand and on the other it was attempted to govern Scotland by a divinely sanctioned monarchy (in the sense understood by the Stuarts) and by a theocracy managed by the

covenanted Kirk. The army's treatment of Charles I. at Newcastle and Cromwell's treatment of the army at Dunbar, mark the inadequacy of both systems. Mr. Lang has provided what he has accustomed us to expect from him, an account of a troubled period that is clear and interesting, informed with humor and never without that seriousness which underlies all true humor. But if the present volume maintains the standard of excellence set by its predecessors it does not escape the shortcomings that characterized them. We have had occasion before to comment on Mr. Lang's neglect of constitutional matters and *Kulturgeschichte* and we shall only remark in passing that in this respect the present volume is open to the same objections as the earlier ones.

The historian who deals with seventeenth-century Scotland undertakes a task of peculiar difficulty, for although his authorities are abundant they are very insufficiently criticized; the partisanship of the time has scarcely abated to-day and most modern writers have only darkened counsel by words. Scottish historians, it would seem, do not command the services of such Gibeonites as the perpetually recruited seminarium places at the disposal of a Continental professor, and have not themselves hitherto been content to hew wood and draw water in a purely disinterested spirit. These remarks may be illustrated by a reference to the problem stated and discussed in the footnote on p. 158.

Again, although Mr. Lang shows a grasp of actuality that can only be the result of a careful interpretation and combination of his authorities, he is not uniformly successful in his exposition. His style, broken and jerky in general, is often marred by the crudest transitions and at times sinks to the level of the annalist (e. g., p. 85). The proportion is occasionally obscured and the connection of events lost sight of, by the inclusion of details which although interesting are unrelated. The disposition of the material and the general structure of the volume are, on the other hand, excellent; and some of the characterizations—notably those of the two Argylls, Montrose and Archbishop Sharp—are altogether vital and admirable.

One enquires naturally, with some eagerness, in what spirit has Mr. Lang, Scot as he is, approached the most troubled time of his national history? He has hitherto made no secret of his purpose to say the utmost that could be said for the losing side. In his second volume he positively cherished his sympathy with the old religion, not, we fancy, from any great liking for the theological and political systems associated with it, but rather on account of its misfortunes. Now he has spoken his mind on the Covenant in particular and the Kirk in general, in terms that can only be qualified as moderate in comparison with those commonly used in the seventeenth century. The Covenant was a "band", with all the sanguinary associations of such documents, and of all these it was the bloodiest; the whole affair was the most mischievous of ignorant anachronisms (pp. 30-32). After Montrose's failure the preachers were urging reprisals; "more blood must be shed to propitiate the Deity. This is the theology of Anahuac or Ashanti; an insatiate God calls for

human victims; thus the fanatics read the Gospel" (p. 162). When in 1650 Charles II. was being badgered into signing "an infamous paper", reflecting on his father and mother, Mr. Lang comments thus: "apparently Charles was to conciliate Jehovah by breaking the Fifth Commandment" (p. 234). Few people nowadays will consider this language too strong in view of the circumstances. Still there is much to be understood—and something to be said—on the other side. The dilemma proposed by Mr. Lang is not quite a fair one. The Scots objected to the king's interfering in the smallest measure with the freedom of their consciences but required him to do violence to those of his English subjects, and to his own, by establishing Presbyterianism south of the Border. That is no doubt the logic of the situation, but to state it so, is to neglect the fact that the Kirk honestly believed itself to be in direct relation with the Deity and therefore infallible. "A fevered dream of theologians" (p. 163), if you like, but none the less sincere and imperative. Mr. Lang, of course, understands all this better than most people, and he has his reasons for the course he has followed. In this country, however, where Scottish history is not perhaps popular and where Mr. Lang unquestionably is so, he risks overshooting his mark. Any one who wishes to redress the balance of his own judgment on these matters and to learn how necessary in certain quarters was such a presentation of the subject as Mr. Lang has furnished, may consult a small work which has recently appeared in Edinburgh under the title, *Scotland and Presbyterianism Vindicated*. The author, a Mr. Wauliss, amiably remarks that Mr. Lang is an anglicized Scot who "has attacked in a most atrocious way the national creed of Scotland, and has also attempted to vilify her national honour in a manner worthy of an Old Bailey barrister". We cannot imagine a better justification for the course Mr. Lang has adopted. The case is a very special one, and heroic measures are needed to dispel illusions of a certain order. But the policy has its dangers and it is still a sound principle that error should not be met by error in the hope that two opposing wrongs will check and correct one another. Mr. Lang has not always escaped the dangers to which he has thus exposed himself. Take, for example, the passage in which he describes Leighton's resignation in 1674 (p. 328); it is too long unfortunately to quote here, but one sentence will indicate its tone. "Christianity sufficed for him; the differences of the churches, from that of Rome to that of Knox, were to him futilities". This view commends itself to most reasonable men to-day, but we are not thereby dispensed from appreciating—and appreciating sympathetically if possible—the constraining force of that belief in an infallible and exclusive church which was held at Geneva as at Rome.

Mr. Lang rejects (p. 103) Gardiner's opinion that the domination of the preachers improved the morals of Scottish society, and brings a good deal of evidence to show that "the rude peasants" and others continued "to wallow in impurity" during the seventeenth century (the phrases are Gardiner's). If there was any improvement it was

due, he thinks, to English policing rather than to Scottish preaching. This must have been hard reading for Mr. Wauliss and his friends. Some years ago Mr. Mathieson expressed the same view in his *Religion and Politics in Scotland*, and we suggested in a review of that work,¹ that it was not difficult to produce evidence of that kind for almost any country or any period, and that the moral calibre of a community should surely be judged as much from what it thinks it ought to do as from what it does. The question is a delicate one and a discussion of it would be inappropriate in this place.

The curious will be interested in the excursions in which Mr. Lang discusses the question of Charles II. and the death of Montrose and the case of John Brown of Priesthill, the Christian carrier who was shot by order of Claverhouse in 1685, and they may perhaps regret that he "has not thought it necessary to enter more fully into the particulars" of the riot at St. Giles in 1637. Professor Hume Brown, it will be remembered, committed Jenny Geddes to the limbo of myth, and Mr. Lang seems disposed to agree with him (p. 26).

The volume is well produced and the only slips we have noticed are few and unimportant. A good reproduction of Honthorst's portrait of Montrose serves (appropriately enough as those of Mr. Lang's mind will think) as a frontispiece.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLY.

Thomas Harrison, Regicide and Major-General. By C. H. SIMPKINSON, M.A. (London: J. M. Dent and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 304.)

It would be interesting to know what induced the publishers of the Temple Biographies to include in their list Thomas Harrison. It is impossible to make out of him a popular subject. Moreover, the facts in his life are too little known to make it possible to write a successful popular biography. Consequently, it would be better to have attempted a life based strictly upon thorough research. The writer seems to have felt that this was true, and has frequently quoted authorities, and sometimes referred to them, though in such cases he has timidly given nothing but a general reference, as for instance, *Somers Tracts*, or "Pamphlet in the British Museum". Such references are well-nigh valueless, and in the case of pamphlets in the British Museum they are positively ridiculous.

It would be interesting in the second place to be informed in respect to the motives which impelled a biographer of Laud to undertake a life of Harrison. It is the mode to-day in writing history to parade a complete impartiality, but here the display of impartiality is almost monstrous and seems to do violence to human nature. After reading the book, one longs for an hour of Samuel Johnson and appreciates what he meant when he said that he loved a good hater.

Mr. Simpkinson is not a good hater; nor yet a good biographer. The known facts about Harrison are few, and have almost all been given

¹ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII. 750-752.